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Eric King speaks with former political prisoners Linda Evans, Laura Whitehorn, and Nicole Kissane about their experiences in underground and abolitionist movements. Together they explore the repression, the resistance, and the resilience of women fighting back in US prisons.

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RATTLING THE CAGES

ORAL HISTORIES OF NORTH AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

"Revolutionary Women Behind Bars"

LINDA EVANS | LAURA WHITEHORN | NICOLE KISSANE

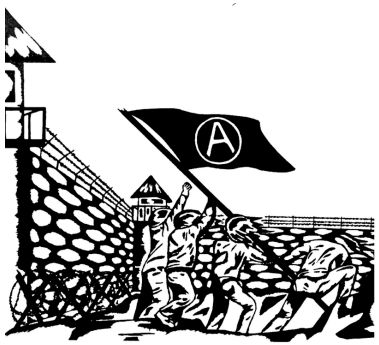
Originally hosted as a live conversation by Firestorm Books,
recording available on Firestorm's youtube channel:
www.youtube.com/watch?v=RrttXeoQxg4
November 24, 2024

Published by AK Press, *Rattling the Cages: Oral Histories of North American Political Prisoners* is a project of abolitionists Josh Davidson and Eric King. The book is filled with the experience and wisdom of over thirty current and former North American political prisoners. It provides first-hand details of prison life and the political commitments that continue to lead prisoners into direct confrontation with state authorities and institutions.

Transcription, editing, and formatting by ev, Danielle, Josh, & Jeremy with help from Firestorm Books.

all labor volunteered

with whatever weapons at hand



Linda Evans was an anti-imperialist political prisoner for 16 years, and before her imprisonment she was involved in many organizations, including Students for a Democratic Society, the Weather Underground, and the May 19th Communist Organization. She was captured in 1985 and convicted for her part in the Resistance Conspiracy Case. Her sentence was commuted by outgoing president Bill Clinton in 2001. Linda was imprisoned at various jails, including the DC jail and FCI Dublin. Since her release, she has co-founded All of Us or None, a grassroots civil rights organization of formerly incarcerated people and their families, and she works tirelessly with California Coalition for Women Prisoners, the Drop LWOP Coalition, the Immigrant Defense Taskforce of North Bay Organizing Project in Santa Rosa, and the successful campaign to free Dr. Mutulu Shakur. Along with her partner Eve Goldberg, Linda wrote *The Prison-Industrial Complex and the Global Economy* (2009).

Laura Whitehorn served almost 15 years in high security federal prisons for her involvement in the anti-imperialist armed actions that culminated in the Resistance Conspiracy Case of the mid-1980s. She served time at the Baltimore City Jail, the DC jail, FCI Lexington, FCI Alderson, FCI Dublin (then called Pleasanton), and the high security unit in Marianna, Florida. Laura was involved in anti-imperialist organizations including the Weather Underground Organization (WUO) and the May 19th Communist Organization, and rights and AIDS support groups. Since her release at the turn of the century, she has been involved in a number of causes including campaigns to free political prisoners and is a cofounder of Release Aging People in Prison (RAPP), a community based organization founded and led by formerly incarcerated people and family members. Laura edited and wrote the introduction for *The War Before: The True Life Story of Becoming a Black Panther, Keeping the Faith in Prison and Fighting for Those Left Behind* (2010) and wrote the introduction to Victoria Law's *Resistance Behind Bars: The Struggles of Incarcerated Women*. She and her partner, the writer Susie Day, participated in a prison, labor, and academic delegation to Palestine in 2016.

Nicole Kissane is a dedicated animal rights activist who was sentenced to 21 months at FCI Dublin for Animal Enterprise Terrorism. Since the mid-2000s, she has passionately advocated for animal rights. After a brief hiatus following her release, Nicole has expanded her focus, working with local groups on prison abolition and immigrant rights. Alongside her activism, she has also returned to school to further her knowledge and impact.

Eric King is a father, poet, author, and activist. In December 2023 he was released from the supermax ADX prison after spending nearly ten years as a political prisoner for an act of protest over the police murder of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. He was held in solitary confinement for years and was met with violence by guards throughout his incarceration. Eric has published three zines: *Battle Tested* (2015), *Antifa in Prison* (2019), and *Pacing in My Cell* (2019). His sentencing statement is included in the book *Defiance: Anarchist Statements Before Judge and Jury* (2019). Eric now works as a paralegal for the Bread and Roses Legal Center.

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Buy a Certain Days: Freedom for Political Prisoners calendar (*certaindays.org*).

Visit your local Books Through Bars group and send books to those incarcerated (*booksthroughbarsnyc.org/resources*).

Join your nearest Anarchist Black Cross group (*abcf.net*).

Visit *rattlingthecages.com* to learn more.

Rattling the Cages

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all conversations are available @FirestormCoop on youtube

Libertie Valance: Welcome everyone! Thanks so much for joining us. My name is Libertie, and I'm a member of the Firestorm Collective. Tonight, we're excited to host former political prisoners Eric King, Linda Evans, Laura Whitehorn, and Nicole Kissane to discuss women fighting back in US prisons and jails.

I'm part of the Firestorm Collective, which is a 16 year-old radical bookstore owned and operated by a queer feminist collective in southern Appalachia on the land of the Cherokee people. Our collective strives to feature books and events that reflect our interests and the needs of marginalized communities in the South. We're also continuing to do a fair number of events, like this one, online, both because it's lovely to be able to connect with folks at a distance, and because we know even within our own community there are lots of people with accessibility challenges related to getting to in-person programming.

I'm going to go ahead and pass it off. This is an incredible group of people with so much history and so many stories. I look forward to hearing from all of you!

Eric King: Here we go! I'd like to welcome everyone who's with us right now. To you three, thank you so much. This is really, really big, and I feel so happy to be talking with you. What I want to start with—and I'll start with you, Nicole—I'd like to know what led you to the actions that led you to prison? What was happening in the world that affected you, or what did you feel you had to take a stand against? What was it that led to your incarceration? Nicole, if you want to start, friend.

Nicole Kissane: Yeah! I don't even know the timeline, but I started getting a little bit more active with people in Long Beach in LA and started doing demonstrations against BlackRock and continuing with the SHAC case and getting those ties to be severed. Eventually—I mean it started before that for me, reading books, but then I got more active as I got older and I could actually drive to places like Long Beach in LA. I grew up in San Diego, by the way. There wasn't much happening in San Diego, so I drove mostly up there. And then... I think there was always something in me that was like, "This isn't enough. This isn't ever going to be enough." Then it obviously went further along the path. Yeah, I think I always knew direct action was the only thing that was actually going to make a difference, and so I felt that it needed to be me to do that.

Eric King: Were you inspired by previous action? You mentioned the SHAC 7, but the ALF and the ELF, were those things inspiring to you? Or did you just find in you that "I have to do something because this is what I need to do?"

Nicole Kissane: Oh, no. Definitely. The ALF and the ELF... Every book I could read on them I did. They were definitely people that inspired me to be more active. Definitely.

Eric King: Awesome. Thank you so much. Laura, if you'd like to go. What inspired your action? What led to those actions?

Laura Whitehorn: You know, I've been thinking about that a lot recently because of the United States and Israel's intransigence around committing total genocide against the people of Palestine. It made me realize, it's sort of like... Everything. I now live on stolen Lenape land, and I was just texting with an old friend of mine about his effort to get involved in Land Back, which he's actually doing with Lenape Nations in Pennsylvania. I was remembering when I was a kid all the senses of unfairness, which now I realize it was settler-colonialism. It wasn't just capitalism. I hated it. Then, getting involved with the Panthers, the Black Panthers in the 60's, it was like a light bulb. Part of being underground and part of being in the Left was understanding that miseducation is a tool of imperialism, and so we want to get in there and learn our own shit. I tried to do that in school and luckily was able to some and began to understand that there was so much, so much disparity of resources and privilege and everything. Then, when I met the Black Panthers, I kind of went, "Oh, duh!" It's power. Racism isn't bad ideas. It isn't like, "Let's unlearn racism. Let's change ourselves." It's a matter of power, and that's the point. That's the way that it can be overturned.

That led me to... I don't know, Linda, I don't know what you would say. We went into it slightly together. We were both in Weathermen around the same time, and we were organizing and trying to organize white working class people and did for many years. But also I felt like there was a power imbalance that had to be pointed out. That's what led me into the Weather Underground and armed propaganda. Then, what led me into the period that gave rise to our case, the Resistance Conspiracy Case, was that the BLA, the Black Liberation Army, the FALN, Los Fuerzas Armada del Liberacion Nacional Puerto Rico, were both being hunted by the cops. I

Write to Political Prisoners mentioned in this conversation

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nycabc.wordpress.com

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Smart Communications/PA DOC
Joe-Joe Bowen* #AM4272
SCI Fayette
Post Office Box 33028
St Petersburg, Florida 33733
**Address envelope to Joseph Bowen*

Kojo Bomani Sababu* #39384-066
FMC Butner
Post Office Box 1600
Butner, North Carolina 27509
**Address envelope to Grailing Brown.*

nycabc.wordpress.com/write-a-letter/

was in New York, and the New York police department was on the trail. Assata Shakur had been liberated. The Brinks expropriation had happened. There were bombings that the FALN did, and the cops were getting close. So, we started doing actions to lead them off the scent to something else. I have to say, I'm a great believer that solidarity is not about statements and t-shirts even though this a really cool t-shirt. Everyone should get one.

[*Laura shows the t-shirt she is wearing representing Release Aging People from Prison (RAPP).*]

Solidarity is about what the fuck you do.

[*Eric shows the t-shirt he is wearing depicting Marilyn Buck*.]

Oh, nice! Oh my god, Marilyn. Oh, Marilyn Buck. Our co-defendant, Linda's and mine.

Linda Evans: ¡*Presente*!

Laura Whitehorn: That was kind of it. You know, Russell Maroon Shoatz said to Susie Day and me and Barbara Zeller when we visited him years ago, he said, rage and testosterone for him, humiliation and testosterone, that's what he said, for him and for a lot of the men. It was being humiliated as a Black person over and over again. That sense of powerlessness. For me, I'd say it was witnessing that robbing people of their humanity and subjecting them to any kind of brutality, torture, and unfairness. Fighting back felt exactly like what I needed to do.

Eric King: Amazing. Thank you so much. Linda, would you share your journey that led you to incarceration?

Linda Evans: Similar and different from Laura. We are honored to be in the same generation and have shared a lot of experiences with each other. I grew up in Iowa and was never exposed really even to Black people until I left home and went to Michigan State University for about a year or a year and a half. Couple different things happened to me there at that time in my life. One was that I was able to go to Detroit and walk through the inner city of Detroit. That had a profound impact on me, walking on broken glass and seeing how people lived. For a young white girl from

Iowa, it's very eye-opening. At that same time, my parents put me in a mental hospital, and I was locked up and paralyzed by thorazine. I was locked up for about eight weeks, nine weeks, and paralyzed, I think, three times until I could work my way to be able to get rid of it. That was the first time I was ever locked up. As a 21 year-old, that was very radicalizing on a very personal level.

When I got out of the mental hospital and made my way back to the community where I was living in east Lansing, I started to get involved in political work. There was a crackdown on the student dorms for drugs, pot and things like that. They raided all the student dorms, and we formed an organization, Students for a Free University. That was a precursor to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which was started at University of Michigan. Bill Ayers and Diana Oughton were travelers, SDS travelers, to Michigan State. We organized an SDS chapter there. Michigan State was the center of police training for the Diem regime, the South Vietnamese regime that was allied with the United States. Michigan State University trained the secret police for Saigon. At that point in time, there were seven different police forces that were active on our campus. There was a lot of anti-police, anti-repression kinds of activity.

We were able to transform a lot of that into being pro-NLF support. ROTC was there. We burned down the ROTC building, like many campuses at that time did, of course. We were very close to Ohio, and Michigan/Ohio was a region of SDS. We were seriously impacted by Ohio State, of course. I think that came a little bit later. But in 1969, I think, for me a very seminal experience was that I traveled to Vietnam. I witnessed what the United States did there, what genocide looked like there. The fact that everything was being bombed. I mean, the United States at that point in time was saying, "Oh, we're only attacking military targets." Well, yeah, they could call them military targets, because People's War meant that every place was being defended by the Vietnamese people. Hospitals had militias that were going to defend them, just like it's happening in Palestine now.

I think the connections, Laura, that you were drawing, the parallels that you were drawing, I think are really important in terms of the need for us to stand up against genocide and against how the United States is using these weapons of war that are keeping our economy going. Let's look at the big picture here. That's kind of what led me to take action at that time,

recruited into the BPP by school friends who had since become Panthers. Two months shy of his 20th birthday, Jalil was captured along with Albert "Nuh" Washington in a midnight shoot-out with San Francisco police. While in San Quentin prison in California in 1976, Jalil launched the National Prisoners Campaign to Petition the United Nations to recognize the existence of political prisoners in the United States. Progressives nationwide joined this effort, and the petition was submitted in Geneva, Switzerland. This led to Lennox Hinds and the National Conference of Black Lawyers having the UN International Commission of Jurists tour U.S. prisons and speak with specific political prisoners. The International Commission of Jurists then reported that political prisoners did in fact exist in the United States. In 1997 Jalil initiated the Jericho Movement. Over 6,000 supporters gathered in the Jericho '98 march in Washington DC and the Bay Area to demand amnesty for US political prisoners on the basis of international law. The Jericho Amnesty Movement aims to gain the recognition by the U.S. government and the United Nations that political prisoners exist in this country, and that on the basis of international law, they should be granted amnesty because of the political nature of their cases.

All of Us or None (AOUON) — a project of Legal Services for Prisoners with Children, is a grassroots organization led by formerly-imprisoned people committed to fighting for the human dignity of currently and formerly-incarcerated people, and their respective family members, as well as against the systemic discrimination facing them while in captivity and upon their release. Through their grassroots organizing, AOUON is building a powerful political movement to win full restoration of their human and civil rights. *For more information:* prisonerswithchildren.org

coalition-based organization, focused largely on cadre-building and developing the grassroots support for a New Afrikan nation-state. Rather than seeing themselves as the immediate leaders of a political movement, the NAPO directly centered the local organizing struggles of various New Afrikan formations and attempted to bridge their collective struggles towards establishing the nation-state. In contrast to the PG, the NAPO was very explicit about being a revolutionary socialist, Pan-Africanist organization. The NAPO was clear that democratic centralism would be a key component in facilitating the development of their state power. In contrast to civil rights movement-era organizations, the NAPO made it very clear in its creation that socialism was a core component of the NAIM. They recognized their struggle for liberation as intrinsically linked to other Black people abroad, specifically under the political objective of Pan-Africanism, defined as "the Total Liberation and Unification of Africa Under Scientific Socialism" as laid out by the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP). The NAPO carries the most obvious, direct relationship to the PG's organizing legacy and has since continued to spawn more organizations relevant to this present moment. In its most The most prominent formation active today that is directly tied to the founding and development of the RNA is the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM).

Robert Seth Hayes — after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and the social upheaval which followed it, Robert Seth Hayes joined the Black Panther Party, working in the Party's free medical clinics and free breakfast programs. Like many other activists, Seth was forced underground by FBI and police repression of the Panther movement. Once underground, Seth joined the Black Liberation Army. In 1973, following a shootout with police, Seth was arrested and convicted of the murder of a New York City police oficer, and, while maintaining his innocence to this day, sentenced to 25 years to life in prison. Imprisoned for nearly forty years, Seth has long since served his sentence. Seth first came up for parole in 1998, but prison officials have refused to release him, focusing on his involvement with the Black Panther Party and his knowledge as to the whereabouts of Assata Shakur and not his conduct while imprisoned. While in prison, Seth has worked as a librarian, pre-release advisor, and AIDS counselor, mentoring younger prisoners and continuing to struggle for his people. Seth passed away at the age of 72 on December 24, 2019.

Jalil Muntaqim — Jalil was 19 years old when he was arrested. He is a former member of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army, and was one of the longest held political prisoners in the world. Jalil was born October 18, 1951, in Oakland, CA. His early years were spent in San Francisco. Jalil participated in NAACP youth organizing during the civil rights movement. In high school, he became a leading member of the Black Student Union, often touring in speak-outs." After the assassination of Dr. King, Jalil began to believe a more militant response to racism and injustice was necessary. He began to look towards the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense for leadership and was

some of those experiences and those conclusions.

Eric King: Yeah! So, getting arrested is scary as shit. It is a terrifying situation, and going to prison can be very scary. I would like to know what it was like: if you were prepared for prison? If you knew you were going to be arrested? If you had already done prison support, so you kind of knew what to expect? What was it like when you were not only arrested but first locked up? What were you feeling? What were you experiencing at that time? Nicole, fire us off!

Nicole Kissane: I did some prisoner support before going in. For the most part I wanted total anonymity. For me, that meant no one knowing how I write, my handwriting, no one knowing my address. I wanted anonymity. When I got arrested—I still remember the day. I left the morning from my place, went for a jog, and knew I was being followed immediately. There were these three, very much military-like, very big men following behind me. I stopped when I knew they were following me. As they crossed, they're like, "Oh, the slow one in front of us?" I was like, "Oh, they're talking about me." I was like, "Okay, something's going to happen." I get in my car, and, as soon as I pull out, I see another car pull out, and I'm like, "Okay…" So, then I drive to my house and park, and they park, too, and I'm like, "Okay, something's going to happen." Then I go up to my place—me and my codefendant were sharing the same place—and I was like, "I'm being followed. Something's happening."

This was the point where I was like, "You need to get on the phone. I'm being followed." This is more than the normal following—because we got followed before. Probably 10 minutes later, if that, there was a bang on the door. It was like, "We have your arrest warrant. Open the door." Not even five minutes later they come in through the door. I couldn't even tell you how many they were. This is in San Pablo in Oakland, California. This was the place I was living at. I was in a third story of an apartment complex building. They come in, arrest me and my co-defendant, walk us down the apartment complex. All of San Pablo is blocked off except going South. It's blocked off. Then I get whisked away and taken to downtown Oakland.

That's how I was arrested. Was I prepared for it? I mean, how can I be prepared for it? You know it's happening, right? You're like, "Okay, it's going to be a time," because you see people following you. But I was not prepared for that day. I wasn't prepared to say, "Oh, yeah, today's the

day." I just knew they were following me.

Eric King: Had you mentally reconciled the fact that like, "I might go to prison for what I'm doing?" Like, "That day will come?" Or was it kind of a shock to you?

Nicole Kissane: When I was doing the things I was doing, I was like, "Yeah, it's going to happen." When, I'm not sure. But I knew it was going to come at some point.

Eric King: Yeah. Damn. Thank you. I'll be back to you. Laura, if you could tell us what it was like when you were first arrested? Were you prepared? What did you experience when that first happened?

Laura Whitehorn: Nicole, while you were talking, I was remembering that at one point I was being interviewed years ago after I got out of prison—or maybe while I was still in—and I said, you know, I didn't think it was legal to bomb the capital, so I couldn't be very surprised when I was arrested. I had been arrested—and so had Linda—a number of times before. One time, we did, I don't know, a few months in Allegheny county jail and house arrest in Pittsburgh for an action. I had visited people in prison in Walpole in Boston where I had been living before I moved to New York in '77 or something. Nothing about prison itself particularly surprised me. I knew it was overwhelmingly full of Black and brown people. I knew kind of what it was like.

Getting arrested? That day sucked. And I fought. Actually, this unbelievable, but I think because I'm so little—and this has always been something interesting for me in street fighting—is that cops look at me, and they see me—I'm not even 5 feet tall—so they look for bigger people. That gives me some running time. I actually got out of the FBI car—got out of it—and then they jumped me a few times. Then, I was chained up all day to a chair. The first day was really, really horrible, because I was sitting chained up in the FBI office and hearing that the FBI… Marilyn and Linda had driven to New York, and they were arrested there. I was just the whole time thinking, "Please, please don't be arrested." Let's have Marilyn and Linda be in the wind. They came in gloating. They said, "Guess who we arrested?" That was really shitty.

Going to prison, I think anyone who's political should not be surprised if

for Community-Based Justice. He also wrote three books—*No Surrender: Writings from an Anti- Imperialist Political Prisoner*; *Love and Struggle: My Life in SDS, the Weather Underground, and Beyond*; and Looking at the U.S. White Working Class Historically (2017).

Judy Clark — a member of the Weather Underground and the May 19th Communist Organization (M19). Judy joined Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) while in college, and later co-founded the Weather Underground (WUO), participating in the Days of Rage uprising in Chicago. She went underground, was arrested and briefly incarcerated; afterwards she lived in New York City, co-founding M19. In the early 1980s, M19 linked with the Black Liberation Army (BLA) to carry out bank expropriations. After her capture after the Brinks expropriation, Judy was sentenced three consecutive 25 to life terms for murder in the second degree. While imprisoned, Judy became involved in HIV/AIDS activism, and published articles in Social Justice. Judy released on parole in 2019.

Kathy Boudin — a white American revolutionary who served 23 years after the Brinks expropriation. Kathy was a founding member of the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), which engaged in guerrilla struggle against American imperialism. In 1969, Boudin was a founding member of the Weatherman faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which in 1970 became the WUO. In 1970 Kathy and Cathy Wilkerson, who were the only survivors of the Greenwich Village townhouse explosion, fled underground where Kathy remained a fugitive for more than a decade, engaging in multiple additional bombings (none of which resulted in injuries) and other militant actions. In 1981, Kathy and several former members of the Weather Underground, with current members of the May 19th Communist Organization and the Black Liberation Army, robbed a Brink's armored car. Captured after the expropriation, Kathy contributed many writings in prison, including articles and poems, as well as continued to organize, especially with AIDS education. After her release in 2003, Kathy worked at AIDS clinics, post-release health support, and education. Kathy passed away on May 1, 2022.

Rebecca Rubin — received a five-year sentence for her involvement with actions committed in support of the Earth Liberation Front during the late 1990s and early 2000s. A shy animal lover from Vancouver, Canada, Rebecca found herself on the run for seven years before surrendering to face draconian charges in the midst of the Green Scare. She served four years and four months and spent several months in various holding facilities and Oregon jails before spending two years imprisoned at FCI Dublin in California, followed by time in a reentry center in Portland and then home confinement. She did not let this time impact her love for nature or her sense of humour.

New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) — The New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) was formed in 1984. From its beginnings, the NAPO was a

1970s and 1980s. On April, 4, 1980, the US government captured 11 Puerto Rican women and men and accused them of being members of the FALN. All 11 declared themselves prisoners of war, since Puerto Rico has been militarily occupied since the US invasion in 1898. As anti-colonial freedom fighters, they completely refused to recognize US jurisdiction and demanded to be tried by an international tribunal or set free. Carmen was sentenced in 1980 for seditious conspiracy and other charges on February 18, 1981 to 90 years imprisonment. Carmen was released early from prison after President Bill Clinton extended a clemency offer to her and 16 other FALN prisoners in 1999, after which she returned to Puerto Rico.

Republic of New Afrika (RNA) — a Black nationalist organization in the United States popularized by militant Black liberation groups that argued that Black people in the US constitute a subjugated internal nation or internal colony. The larger New Afrika movement in particular has three goals: Creation of an independent black-majority country situated in the Southeastern United States, in the heart of an area of black-majority population. Payment by the federal government of several billion dollars in reparations to African American descendants of slaves for the damages inflicted on Africans and their descendants by chattel enslavement, Jim Crow laws, and modern-day forms of racism. A referendum of all African Americans to determine their desires for citizenship; movement leaders say their ancestors were not offered a choice in this matter after emancipation in 1865 following the American Civil War. The vision for this country was first promulgated by the Malcolm X Society on March 31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held in Detroit, Michigan. The conference participants drafted a constitution and declaration of independence, and they identified five Southern states Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina (with adjoining areas in East Texas and North Florida) as subjugated national territory. Robert F. Williams, a Black revolutionary and founder of the Black Marxist Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) who was then living in exile in China, was chosen as the first president of the RNA provisional government.

David Gilbert — a lifelong anti-imperialist who was captured and imprisoned as a result of an attempted expropriation of a Brinks truck in Nyack, New York, in 1981. He was sentenced to seventy-five years to life but his sentence was commuted by outgoing Governor Cuomo, and he was released from prison after nearly forty years in November 2021. Though he spent short stints at MCC-NY and other federal prisons and jails, David spent the majority of his forty-year incarceration at the six maximum security men's prisons in New York (Attica, Auburn, Clinton, Comstock, Wende, and Shawangunk prisons). While in prison, David was a cofounder of the Certain Days Collective, and he also helped pioneer AIDS awareness programs that saved thousands of lives in prisons across the country. David wrote numerous zines, including *Our Commitment Is to Our Communities: Mass Incarceration, Political Prisoners and Building a Movement*

they walk into a prison, because it's just like America, you know? Malcolm X said that, I think. He said, "If you're Black, you were born in prison." I was in Baltimore city jail. I did my first five years in Baltimore city jail and the DC jail. They looked just like Harlem in New York and Roxbury in Boston. The thing that was surprising to me—and I learned it pretty fast—I was held in total solitary, you know, "Terrorist, terrorist, terrorist," and "Off limits," and "Do not talk to this person." All that bullshit. Even with all of that, because I was in Baltimore and DC, I had some kind of social privilege as a white person. I didn't realize that, actually, until one time when there was a fight on the floor, and a cop started to beat a woman. I jumped in and started wailing on the cop, and I never got charged with it. Afterwards, it occurred to me awhile later.

I think the main thing that was new to me—or no, it wasn't new to me—every time I've gone to prison or jail, this has been true. Once the women that I was with found out I was on a political case that was about fighting against the government and fighting in support of oppressed people, I was greeted with so much love and support. I never, ever, ever went without. I never lacked for anything, even before I could let people on the outside know. The other thing that did kind of surprise me was how political people were in a city jail who were in because they couldn't pay a $300 bail—mostly in Baltimore city jail it was sex workers, people addicted to drugs and maybe selling small amounts—the awareness that people had of what was going on, and how much they wanted me to share with them what I knew and what I had done.

I guess that's it. Yes, I was a political prisoner. Susan Rosenberg and I have laughed about this, because she's not very big either. Every time we were moved to a new prison, they would have it R&T-ed. They would have these jumpsuits for us that were huge. And they would say, "Where's Whitehorn?" looking around... The whole sense of political prisoners was very, very interesting in there. I guess the main thing that I would say is that what I learned from prison over and over again, because it's a lesson that doesn't come easily if you're brought up in a capitalist society, is the power of collective love and support and strength. In Baltimore city jail, the cops had a sign on my cell: "Do not talk to this person." The women came right past it and talked to me and tore the sign down. I remember, Linda, that happened to us in the DC jail, too, where the administration tried to tell people that we had tried to kill Jesse Jackson to try to get us to be hated by the mostly—all except for us, pretty much—Black women in

there, and they just didn't believe it. They just didn't.

I guess those are the things I would say. The last thing I want to say is that people think political prisoners go to prison and we get treated so badly. There are things, there are definitely many things—and I'm sure Susan talked about them when she did this—about the Lexington high security unit, and singling us out, and telling us, "There are no political prisoners. We'll write you up if you call yourself that." All the extra monitoring and all of that. I know Daniel McGowan was in a CMU, a management unit, and experienced that. But he also saw how that happened to any Muslim prisoner, anyone from the Middle East.

We also saw how it happened to other women. We should never kid ourselves that being a political prisoner brings down repression that is in its essence different from the prison system as a whole. It's a—I don't know what the word is, you know, like when you boil off the water and get the essence—it's the essential repression, but it is not different in kind from all those thousands of people who spend years in the hole. It's just an extra, added thing because we had the nerve to say, "This is imperialism. It's racist. It can be overthrown." Not just that it should be overthrown, but the thing that they really hated about us, is that we said, "*It can be overthrown.*"

Eric King: Thank you so much. Linda, do you have any recollections or any thoughts about what it felt like when you were first arrested or first put into prison? Any fears or any thoughts or just what you experienced when that was happening?

Linda Evans: That day, Marilyn and I had gone, and we knew we were being followed, too, Nicole. We kept trying to throw them off and thinking we had succeeded.

Eric King: Shake 'em.

Linda Evans: It was a couple day saga. It turns out that they ended up having a microphone on our car, so they knew where we were. They had put it on during the journey.

Eric King: And you all were underground at this time?

Brown Berets — Los Boinas Cafés — a Chicano liberation organization that emerged during the Chicano Movement in the late 1960s in the barrios of the Southwest and fought for the self-determination of Chicano people. David Sanchez and Carlos Montes co-founded the group modeled after the Black Panther Party. The Brown Berets was part of the Third World Liberation Front and worked for educational reform, farmworkers' rights, and against police brutality and the Vietnam War. One of the many serve the people programs the Brown Berets set up were free health clinics. Like other groups at the time, the Brown Berets were extensively sabotaged, infiltrated, and repressed by the police and FBI.

California Coalition for Women Prisoners (CCWP) — a grassroots abolitionist organization—with members inside and outside prison—that challenges the institutional violence imposed on women, transgender people, and communities of color by the prison industrial complex (PIC). *For more information*: womenprisoners.org/about-us

Herman Bell — a former member of both the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army, and he was imprisoned for forty-five years. Herman was captured in New Orleans in 1973, and eventually he, Jalil Muntaqim, and Albert Nuh Washington were convicted of attacks on police. Herman was also implicated in the San Francisco 8 case and pleaded guilty to a lesser offense. He spent five years imprisoned in the federal system, in the Marion control unit for two of those years, before spending decades in various New York State maximum security prisons. While imprisoned he was committed to community work, and he is a founding member of the Victory Gardens Project and the Certain Days Collective. He was released in 2018, after his eighth parole hearing.

Oscar López Rivera — a Puerto Rican revolutionary who was a member and suspected leader of the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN), a clandestine guerrilla organization devoted to Puerto Rican independence that carried out more than 130 bomb attacks in the United States between 1974 and 1983. Oscar Rivera declared himself a prisoner of war and refused to take part in most of his trial. He maintained that according to international law he was an anticolonial combatant and could not be prosecuted by the United States government. Sentenced to 55 years in federal prison, Oscar was not directly linked to any specific bombings, and released in May 2017, having served 36 years in prison, longer than any other member of the FALN. U.S. President Bill Clinton offered him and 13 other convicted FALN members conditional clemency in 1999, which Oscar rejected the offer on the grounds that not all incarcerated FALN members received pardons. *Oscar López Rivera, Entre la Tortura y la Resistencia*, a collection of his letters, was released in 2011.

Carmen Valentín Pérez — a member of the FALN, an armed clandestine group which fought for Puerto Rican independence from the United States during the

serving decades in prison, until they were able to broker plea deals in which they could claim responsibility for their actions without providing information about others, including Daniel. A "terrorism label was applied to Daniel's sentence, and he was ultimately sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment. He released on probation in June 2013.

John Brown Anti-Klan Committee (JBAKC) — an anti-racist organization based in the US that protested against the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and other white supremacist organizations and published anti-racist literature. Members of the JBAKC were involved in a string of bombings of military, government, and corporate targets in the 1980s. The JBAKC viewed themselves as anti-imperialists and considered African Americans, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans to be oppressed colonial peoples. The JBAKC was started in 1978 by a group of white anti-racist activists with ties to the Weather Underground. They named the organization after abolitionist John Brown, who advocated and engaged in violence as a means to end slavery in the U.S. According to founding member Lisa Roth, the event that triggered the formation of the group was the discovery that the KKK was actively organizing in New York State prisons. In 1980, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee distributed a pamphlet entitled "Take a Stand Against the Klan", which outlined the group's "Principles of Unity": Fight White Supremacy in All Its Forms! Death to the Klan! Support the Struggle of the Black Nation for Self-Determination! Support the Struggle to Free the Land! Follow Black and Other Third World Leadership Support the Struggle of Third World People for Human Rights! Oppose White Supremacist Attacks!

Dylcia Pagan — a revolutionary Puerto Rican member of the FALN who received a sentence of 55 years for seditious conspiracy and other charges. As a student at Brooklyn College she helped organize the Puerto Rican Student Union which resulted in the formulation of a student-controlled Puerto Rican Studies Department. By the early 1970s, she began a career as a TV producer and writer developing investigative documentaries and children's programs. She worked with the Puerto Rican Media and Education Council, which filed a series of lawsuits against the major television stations which facilitated the local public affairs programming that still exists today. She also worked as the English editor of the bilingual daily, El Tiempo. Dylcia and 11 others were arrested on April 4, 1980, in Evanston, Illinois. They had been linked to more than 100 bombings or attempted bombings since 1974 in their attempt to achieve independence for Puerto Rico. None of the bombings of which they were convicted resulted in deaths or injuries. When she was arrested, her young child, whose safety she feared for, was hidden from the government. While in prison, Dylcia Dylcia released in 1999 when her's and 16 other's sentences were commuted. She returned to Puerto Rico where she spent her final years. She passed away June 30, 2024.

Linda Evans: We were. We were underground and doing surveillance. It was actually my birthday.

Eric King: Oh, no!

Linda Evans: They just took us down and basically strip-searched us in a parking lot. It was bad. When we got there and found out that everybody else had been arrested also, like Laura said, it just got worse. I remember the first night that I was locked up in that time in prison—it was actually in jail—but at the start of it all, I had a very vivid dream of being on my bicycle, riding my bicycle, and going down this hill, coasting down this hill, in Austin, Texas, where I had lived. I knew where it was and everything. It was that fleeting freedom dream or something.

I guess I wouldn't say that I was exactly prepared. We had done some support work with what now has become international CURE—Citizens United to Rehabilitate Errants, as they call it. It's a very old-fashioned name. It was started by two people, a former nun and a former priest: Charlie and Pauline Sullivan who worked in Texas and worked against Texas department of corrections, which was a plantation system at that time—Black people working in the fields—and continues to this day. There have been some reforms, but they were wiped out. They've been wiped out now.

What I would like to say as far as the continuum of prison and things that I learned... I had already been working against the klan in Texas through the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, and working in solidarity with the Black Citizens Task Force and the Brown Berets. Those were really important experiences and relationships to me. When we got arrested, I ended up doing about a couple years, maybe a year and a half, in Louisiana. There, I ran into the fact that there was absolute segregation in the prisons. It was very difficult to cross that line, because there was no trust. It made me also have to stand up and address some of the racist language and racist actions of the other white women. I was alone. I had no comrades there, so it was very important to me to be able to do that and to have the consciousness to do that during that time that I was there. I would agree also with Laura about the ways that people took care of each other in prison. I want to say that that has been continued...

Eric King: That's my next question!

Linda Evans: …—I'll do the segue, I guess—in CCWP, the California Coalition for Women Prisoners—our other slogan is Caring Collectively for Women Prisoners—we have been able to provide mutual aid and support for a lot of women inside and formerly incarcerated women outside. I'll leave it there, because I know we're going to talk more about that.

Laura Whitehorn: I want to say something, Eric, about Linda. Linda did time in New Orleans parish jail or whatever it was, and I did time in Baltimore, and those jails are not fit for human beings to live in—nor animals, I will say, and not just because Nicole's on here. When we got to the DC jail, there were no spoons, so you had to take a milk carton, throw out the milk, and eat with that. There were no clothes.

Linda Evans: I remember that.

Laura Whitehorn: In Baltimore city jail, you would see in December in freezing fucking cold, because all the windows in the jail were broken—there were just bars and then garbage bags—women in hot pants, because that's what they had been arrested in because there were no clothes. Linda and I were both in the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, and, Linda, you just reminded me that that was true in Montgomery county jail, too, which is the first jail I was in. I walked in. It was Mother's Day. Everyone was drugged by the jail, because everyone was a mother and they were so depressed. The long table where people were eating—white women here, black women here—and the white women said to me, "Come on, come on, and we'll give you shampoo and stuff." I said, "Thank you very much" and sat with the Black women. It was like a little bit of an action, but that was the way that the jails are set up.

Linda, I'm just gonna say this, I'm so sorry to be breaking this, that Linda is an incredible jailhouse lawyer, which my comrade Mujahid Farid, who started RAPP with me and who died in 2018, also was. I don't think people understand what a jailhouse lawyer is and how much a jailhouse lawyer is motivated by feelings of great love for their fellow incarcerated people. I don't think that's going to come out—Linda didn't say it—so I just wanted to say it, because she brings that to all of her work. I think it's also in this period really important, because we're not going to necessarily be able to get any anything from the federal government or the state, but we can still win, because you can still be in your brain a jailhouse lawyer using the system, breaking it apart from the bowels, and Linda really taught me how

administration, and to form a national and democratic coalition administration." The US would increase support for the South Vietnamese colonial regime from 900 troops in 1963 to 536,000 by the end of 1968, which inflicted untold suffering, destruction, torture, massacres, and extermination. The VC and the NLF exemplified the tactics of guerrilla warfare with the theories of Võ Nguyên Giáp. After the Tet Offensive in 1967, which coincided with an increasingly militant anti-war movement in the US, the US would begin withdrawing by 1969, and peace accords were signed by 1972. In 1975, the North Vietnamese People's Army in the Ho Chi Minh campaign would capture Saigon in the South, re-unifying the country.

Malcolm X — a Black revolutionary and Nation of Islam spokesman. During the Civil Rights Movement, Malcolm X advocated for freedom "by any means necessary." After leaving the Nation of Islam, Malcolm traveled to Africa and West Asia, meeting with revolutionary Pan-African socialist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Ben Bella, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and others. Before his assassination, Malcolm converted to Sunni Islam, and after completing the Hajj to Mecca he became known as "el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz." Malcolm connected with the communist Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and advocated revolutionary Black internationalism, before he was assassinated on February 21, 1965.

Susan Rosenberg — spent sixteen years in high security federal prisons for her involvement in the anti-imperialist armed actions that culminated in the Resistance Conspiracy Case of the mid-1980s. Her sentence was commuted by outgoing president Bill Clinton in 2001. Susan was imprisoned at the Lexington high security unit at FCI Lexington, the first maximum security prison for women in Marianna, Florida, and FCI Danbury, and she also spent time in the DC jail. She was involved in the May 19th Communist Organization, the Puerto Rican independence movement, the movement to Ban the Box, and the successful fight for the release of longtime political prisoner Dr. Mutulu Shakur. Susan published the book *An American Radical: Political Prisoner in My Own Country*.

Daniel McGowan — a member of the Certain Days collective, and former political prisoner from Queens, NY. He works with NYC Books Through Bars and the Anarchist Black Cross Federation (ABCF). At the end of 2005, the FBI opened a new phase of its assault on earth and animal liberation movements—known as the Green Scare—with the arrests and indictments of a large number of activists. This offensive, dubbed Operation Backfire, was intended to obtain convictions for many of the unsolved Earth Liberation Front (ELF) arsons of the preceding ten years—but more so, to have a chilling effect on all ecological direct action. Of those charged in Operation Backfire, nine ultimately cooperated with the government and informed on others in hopes of reduced sentences. Four held out through a terrifying year, during which it seemed certain they would end up

the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). He rose to national prominence as an SDS leader in 1968 and 1969. The group Ayers headed in Detroit, Michigan, became one of the earliest gatherings of what became the Weathermen. Before the June 1969 SDS convention, Bill became a prominent leader of the group, which arose as a result of a schism in SDS. Later in 1969, Bill participated in planting a bomb at a statue dedicated to police casualties in the 1886 Haymarket affair confrontation between labor supporters and the Chicago police. Bill participated in the Days of Rage riot in Chicago in October 1969, and in December was at the "War Council" meeting in Flint, Michigan. Bill participated in the bombings of New York City Police Department headquarters in 1970, the United States Capitol building in 1971, and the Pentagon in 1972. After the bombing, Bill became a fugitive and, together with Bernardine Dohrn, fled underground. In 1973, new information came to light about illegal FBI COINTELPRO operations targeted against Weather Underground, after which Bill's charges were dropped. Bill is a retired professor, co-author of the political statement of the Weather Underground, *Prairie Fire*, and author of other books, including *Fugitive Days: A Memoir*.

Diana Oughton — a revolutionary member of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Weather Underground (WUO). After graduating from college, Diana traveled to rural Guatemala, an experience which sedimented her radical beliefs. Returning to Michigan, Diana became a teacher at a community school, met Bill Ayers, and became full-time organizers with SDS, where she helped create a women's liberation group. Four events in 1968 turned Diana and many others into self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries: the Viet Cong's Tet Offensive, the student sit-in at Columbia University, the near-revolution in France, and the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. With the split of SDS in 1969, Diana and Bill joined the Weatherman faction. In August 1969, Diana participated in an SDS delegation that traveled to Cuba for the third meeting between Vietnamese and American delegates. Diana was one of the many arrested during the Days of Rage riots in Chicago 1969. Diana and other members of the WUO were assembling bombs in a Greenwich Village townhouse when one of them exploded, killing Diana, Ted Gold, and Terry Robbins, as well as injuring Kathy Boudin and Cathy Wilkerson, who were helped out of the wreckage and subsequently fled.

National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF) — aka Viet Cong (VC) — the communist-driven armed movement and united front organization in South Vietnam that fought with North Vietnam against the South Vietnamese and United States governments during the Vietnam War. Many of the first Viet Cong were Viet Minh, the communist-led national independence coalition led by Ho Chi Minh, that liberated the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from French and US-support. The Communist Party of Vietnam approved a People's War on the South in 1959, for which the VC formed the NLF, a united front that called to "overthrow the disguised colonial regime of the imperialists and the dictatorial

to do that.

Eric King: Fuck yeah! Thanks for bringing that up.

Linda Evans: The other thing about federal prison, it's international. It is so international. I'm sure, Eric, you ran into that, too. And Nicole. All of us! The United States has turned itself always into the policeman of the world, and this is one way that it effects individuals. People are locked up and waiting for detention with no legal services. It's really, really difficult for people that are waiting there on ICE holds.

Eric King: Yes. Thank you both so much. Something that gets a lot of attention when spoken about prison to try to dehumanize prisoners is the level of violence inside. People almost fetishize talking about prison violence. The flip side to that coin, though, is the relationships we build with people inside and the communities we build.

That's something that affects me still today. I would like it if you all could talk about friendships you formed, bonds you formed, special moments with people inside that you shared. Things that weren't just the, "Oh, they got stabbed," but like, "We formed a community!" Those sort of things. Nicole, if you'd like to start. Please, friend.

Nicole Kissane: Yeah, there are amazing people in prison, and I think this narrative of "bad people go to prison," I don't think anybody that's in this meeting believes that, but there are a lot of people that believe that. There are just so many amazing people in prison. I had a lot of—I don't want to say a lot of friends—but I did. I did have a lot of friends, I mean, friends that would make food for me when it was my birthday, and they knew I was vegan, and would make stuff specifically for me, which is really amazing. Friends, during commissary we'd have rotating items, one time it was a dark chocolate bar, they would get me a dark chocolate bar, because they knew that's what I could have. Friends with whom we shared really intimate moments. They were struggling because family members were struggling and they couldn't do anything. The thing with the prison system—and I think a lot of people don't know this—is that you can't touch people in prison. You get a shot, which is basically—I don't know how to explain it.

Eric King: A disciplinary write-up.

Nicole Kissane: Exactly, and it works against your good time. Most people are trying not to get shots, because you don't want to get your good time taken away from you. Touching is one of those things. Like a hug. Any type of way of showing people intimacy is completely… It's a shot. But there are moments that you can share that with people. Yeah, I had a lot of amazing friends in there and shared a lot of intimate moments with friends. Maybe it's different in men's prisons, but I feel like in women's it was… I don't think I was the only person either. I think it was something that many people shared with their friend group.

Eric King: Did you do any activism inside? Were you able to share your views and values, or did you try to keep that under wrap?

Nicole Kissane: I shared my views and my values with the people I was with, but I only served 18 months—and I know I say that, "Only 18 months"—but there are people that are serving longer time than me. When I was in Dublin, and I think when people understand that you're a short-termer, it's like, "Don't rattle the cages too much for us who are going to be in here longer." I understood that. I understand. If you have only 18 months and someone has 56 months, they're like, "Hey, newcomer. You're going to be in and out of here in no time. Watch your T's." We had loose weights at FCI Dublin. "Keep the loose weights in there." Sometimes people would bring them back to the unit. The old-timers—I call them old-timers—would be really mad because they're like, "We're one of the only prisons that has loose weights, so knock that out and put it back, because this is what we have, and you're gonna get this taken away from us. You're only here for six months, so stop." There are moments you can share with people, but also I just, I didn't feel like it was my place to go in there and be like, "Let me educate you all on this." I just didn't feel like it was my place to do that.

Eric King: Oh, fair play. Were you in two-man cells? Or were you in a pod? How did they do it at Dublin when you were there?

Nicole Kissane: They are four-person cells. There's two bunk beds on each side. Usually, they're three people in a cell, but a majority of the time it's four people in a cell. You have a sink and a toilet and a locker.

Eric King: Right. Thank you. For anyone listening, I know Nicole diminished it, but 18 months is still 18 months of lost freedom. It is still

movement, co-founding the Black Unity Council, which later merged with the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party in 1969. In August 1970, at the height of the state repression of the Black liberation movement, Maroon and four others became fugitives ("The Philly 5"), after a police officer was killed in a retaliatory attack on a Philadelphia police station. From August 1970 to January 1972, the date of his capture, Maroon was active on the armed front of the Black Liberation Army. Maroon was sentenced to life after his capture and conviction. In September 1977, Maroon three other Black prisoners liberated themselves from the Huntingdon state prison in Pennsylvania. Two of them were recaptured, another was killed, but Maroon remained free for a month, fleeing from a massive "slave hunt" by local, state, federal, and militia forces. In March 1980, Maroon and another Black political prisoner of war liberated themselves after a Black activists smuggled a revolver and sub-machine gun into the institution. All three were captured after a gun battle with local, state, county, and federal forces. Despite enduring over 22 consecutive years of solitary confinement, Maroon organized liberation schools in the prisons, and remained a committed freedom fighter. Maroon was granted compassionate release in 2021, after suffering from cancer. Maroon passed away less than two months later, on December 17. Maroon is the author of *Maroon the Implacable: The Collected Writings of Russell Maroon Shoatz*, *The Dragon and the Hydra: A Historical Study of Organizational Method*, and an autobiography, *I Am Maroon: The True Story of an American Political Prisoner*.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) — a national student activist organization in the US during the 1960s and was one of the principal representations of the New Left. From its launch in 1960 it grew rapidly in the course of the tumultuous decade with over 300 campus chapters and 30,000 supporters recorded nationwide by its last national convention in 1969. The organization splintered at that convention amidst rivalry between factions seeking to impose national leadership and direction, and disputing "revolutionary" positions on, among other issues, the Vietnam War and Black Power. In a decision to effectively dissolve the organization ("marches and protests won't do it"), one faction resolved upon armed resistance. In alliance with "the Black Liberation Movement," a "white fighting force" would "bring the war home." On October 6, 1969, the Weathermen planted their first bomb, blowing up a statue in Chicago commemorating police officers killed during the 1886 Haymarket Riot.

Bill Ayers — a former militant organizer and co-founder of the Weather Underground (WUO), a revolutionary group that sought to fight American imperialism. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Weather Underground conducted a campaign of bombing public buildings in opposition to US involvement in the Vietnam War and in solidarity with the Black Liberation Movement. The bombings caused no fatalities, except for three members killed when one of the group's devices accidentally exploded. Bill became involved in the New Left and

party to organize protests and community education programs. After returning to New York City, Assata led the BPP chapter in Harlem, coordinating the Free Breakfast for Children program, free clinics, and community outreach. Assata joined the BLA, an offshoot of the BPP whose members were inspired by Third World liberation struggles, engaging in guerilla warfare against the U.S. government for Black liberation. On May 2, 1973, Assata, along with Zayd Malik Shakur and Sundiata Acoli, were involved in a shootout with the police, during which Zayd was killed and Assata was wounded. After Assata's capture, between 1973 and 1977 she was indicted ten times, resulting in seven different criminal trials. On November 2, 1979, Assata, after six years of imprisonment (where she birthed her daughter, Kakuya Shakur), escaped the Clinton Correctional Facility for Women in New Jersey when three members of the Black Liberation Army visiting her drew concealed .45-caliber pistols and a stick of dynamite, seized two correction officers as hostages, commandeered a van and (with the assistance of members of the May 19 Communist Organization) made their escape. Despite one of the largest police and FBI manhunts in history, Assata made her way to Cuba, where she has continued to reside to this day. Assata is the author of the books *Assata: An Autobiography*, *Still Black, Still Strong*, with Dhoruba bin Wahad and Mumia Abu-Jamal, and many articles and poems.

Release Aging People from Prison (RAPP) — led by formerly incarcerated people and family members of people in prison, RAPP works to end mass incarceration and promote racial justice through the release of aging people in prison and those serving long sentences. *For more information:* rappcampaign.com

Marilyn Buck — an anti-imperialist revolutionary who was imprisoned for her participation in the 1979 prison escape of Assata Shakur, the 1981 Brinks expropriation, and the 1983 US Senate bombing. Marilyn joined Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) during the height of activism against the Vietnam war while at the University of Texas. In 1967 she moved to Chicago where she edited the SDS newsletter *New Left Notes*, and incorporated Marxist feminism into the organization's politics. In San Francisco, she worked with Third World Newsreel, a media collective that showcased anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles around the world. Convicted for purchasing ammunition for the Black Liberation Army in 1973, she was sentenced to 10 years in prison, furloughed in 1977, and went underground instead of returning to prison. After her capture in 1985, she was sentenced to 80 years in federal prison, where she wrote on women in prison, political prisoner support, and revolutionary poetry. Marilyn passed away on August 3, 2010, days after her release.

Russell Maroon Schoatz — a Black revolutionary and member of the Black Liberation Army (BLA) who escaped multiple times from prison, earning the name "Maroon." Maroon grew up in Philly and as a part of his gang activities spent his youth in and out of reform schools and youth institutions. During the early and mid 60's, Maroon become politically active in the Black liberation

serious time. It is still time away from your family. It is not little. It's not small. It sucks.

Laura, I would love to hear about… You were inside with a lot of your comrades, from what I've read in your interviews. I'd like to hear about the friendships, bonds, activism stuff inside, just the things you did that that were community-based inside prison.

Laura Whitehorn: Nicole, I so appreciate the way you said that, that awareness of the difference in privilege that someone would have if they were in for a short time and a longer time. I really, really appreciate hearing that.

I just want to say one thing about women's prison and about prison. I think I should have said this when you asked about anything you learned. I learned differently, and I feel traumatized when I read—you know, I work with people at Center for Constitutional Rights and watched the Abu Ghraib trial and everything—I have a reaction when I see the level of brutality and inhumanity and un-fucking-believable torture that this country, and other Western European countries and Israel, do to prisoners and to people in general, to oppressed people. I remember that feeling in prison of the lack of the right to assert your humanity. It's the basic thing. Knowing that if you're raped… And people do. There are cases—and we've been working together, I know you two have been working much more on it, I'm sure, around Dublin and all the rapes there—but there are… And Herman Bell was almost beaten to death in prison. He can now, once he gets out and recovers, he can sue. All of that's true, and the suits are important. But that sense in every moment of being in prison that they could do things to you that would destroy you for life in terms of some mental thing or maybe it wouldn't destroy you. You have no recourse at that moment. Each of us had those things done to us by men in pat searches, where they would do—you can imagine—what they're not supposed to do.

I have to say that, because all of the solidarity and the fear among women sometimes inside of being involved in resistance, because you know that when you resist there's a big danger of them coming down on you, whether it's going to the hole or being shipped out. We had a whole rebellion. It was very little. When the sentencing commission recommended that the punishments for crack and powder cocaine be

equalized, because the way the sentencing structure worked was so racist and punished crack at such a higher rate than powder cocaine, and—remember that?—there were hearings in the congress, and they didn't change them. There were rebellions in many of the prisons, and there was a rebellion at Dublin, and the women just got moved out, until we got out. Linda, I see Nicee now all the time, but she was one of my best friends, she got—*whoop!*—she got moved out. I didn't. There's all of that, but there are two parts for me and you.

Our comrade Dylcia Pagan just died a few months ago. We had two memorials for her here, and talking about her and seeing the slides of her once she got out—and she was released right before or after Linda, also by Clinton when all of the Puerto Rican *independentista* political prisoners got clemency, except for Oscar López who got out 10 years later. One of my friends, SB Martell, asked me to speak at the first memorial, and so I just told stories, Linda, about what we used to do. The hard cheese club, remember? The hard cheese club, which was like, because there were some people—like what you're talking about, Nicole—who would come in to do 5 months or 10 months, because even though at that point it was also a max, women who were in max were in Dublin, but women with short time were too, because it was an FCI. They would whine about, "Oh, the kind of shampoo they have on commissary doesn't smell very good." "Oh, I think my hair's getting..."And we'd be like, you know, "Shut the fuck up!" We would say under our breaths, because one of us had a British friend who said, "Hard cheese, chap!" Dylcia made me—I still have it—this little block of Swiss cheese made out of clay, and it says 'Hard Cheese.' Carmen Valentin used to say—what did she say?—"precious memories" when we would have a good time together. We would steal food from the commissary and make quesadillas or something and have a little party.

We gave each other enormous support as politicals. We wrote statements together. We spoke by phone to rallies and stuff like that, so we felt like we had some agency together. But I have to say that some of my best friendships that I formed in prison, they did happen, I mean Linda and I have known each other for 500 years, but we became much closer in prison. Linda, I see Apple sometimes. My cellmate. She's from Kansas City like Susie. I would never have known her if we hadn't been in prison together. In my work now—and Linda's work I think it's the same—is among formerly incarcerated people and family members of incarcerated people. I have to say, and I suggested to Josh, I hope you guys do this,

to disable or the use of arson to destroy what activists believe is being used to injure animals, people or the environment. Many activists associated with ELF have faced and are still facing repression. See also: Marius Mason, Daniel McGowan.

Black Liberation Army (BLA) — an underground Marxist-Leninist, Black-nationalist guerrilla organization composed of former Black Panthers (BPP) and Republic of New Afrika (RNA) members who served aboveground before going underground, that took up arms for the liberation and self-determination of Black people in the United States. By 1970, police and FBI sabotage (COINTELPRO), infiltration, state repression, and assassinations had significantly undermined the BPP. This convinced many former party members of the desirability of underground existence, seeing that a new period of violent repression by the U.S federal and local government was at hand. According to Geronimo Pratt (AKA Geronimo ji Jaga), the BLA "as a movement concept pre-dated and was broader than the BPP," suggesting that it was a refuge for ex-Panthers rather than a new organization formed through schism. And according to Assata Shakur's autobiography, "the Black Liberation Army was not a centralized, organized group with a common leadership and chain of command. Instead, there were various organizations and collectives working together and simultaneously independent of each other." The BLA would participate in attacks on police, expropriations, prison breaks (notably Assata), plane hijackings, and other actions in the struggle for Black liberation. Many political prisoners have been captured members of the BLA, some of whom are still imprisoned to this day.

Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN) — Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation — a Puerto Rican clandestine guerrilla organization that, through direct action, struggled for a Puerto Rico independent of US colonization. The FALN was founded in the 1960s and was one of several organizations established during that decade that promoted clandestine armed struggles against the colonial forces of the United States. The FALN was founded following decades of persecution by the FBI, including illegal imprisonments and assassination against members of the Puerto Rican independence movement. Throughout their actions, the FALN would struggle for the freedom of political prisoners from the previous generation of independenistas. In 1999 the sentences for 16 captured FALN political prisoners were commuted by Bill Clinton. El Ejército Popular Boricua / Los Macheteros would succeed the FALN in the armed struggle.

Assata Shakur — a Black revolutionary and a member of the Black Liberation Army (BLA) who escaped from prison and lives free as a maroon in Cuba. Assata became involved with Civil Rights protests while in community college in New York City in the mid-60's. After graduating from CCNY, she moved to Oakland, California, where she joined the Black Panther Party (BPP), working with the

People, Places, Events, & Organizations

Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) — an international animal rights campaign to close down Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS), an animal-testing company based in the UK and US. SHAC was one of the most successful grassroots animal rights campaigns in history, utilizing mass above and belowground direct actions targeting not just HLS but also its material and financial supply chains. HLS were brought to the brink of bankruptcy on multiple occasions, and over 500 companies were pressured to quit doing business with HLS, including their insurance company. Activists also managed to get HLS dropped from the New York Stock Exchange, eventually stopping their stocks from being publicly traded altogether. Many activists associated with SHAC faced repression. In 2006, the SHAC 7 were arrested in an FBI raid and were the first activists to be charged under the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act. During the trial, the defendants were prohibited from providing evidence of animal cruelty taking place at Huntingdon Life Sciences testing laboratories. Six of the activists were sentenced to between one and six years in federal prison.

Animal Liberation Front (ALF) — an international, leaderless, decentralized, mostly anarchist movement engaged in direct actions aimed at opposing animal cruelty and liberating animals. These actions include removing animals from laboratories and farms, damaging facilities, providing veterinary care, and establishing sanctuaries for the rescued animals. Some of the aims of the ALF include: To inflict economic damage on those who profit from the misery and exploitation of animals. To liberate animals from places of abuse, i.e. laboratories, factory farms, fur farms etc., and place them in good homes where they may live out their natural lives, free from suffering. To reveal the horror and atrocities committed against animals behind locked doors, by performing nonviolent direct actions and liberations To take all necessary precautions against harming any animal, human and non-human. Many activists associated with ALF have faced and are still facing repression. See also: The Northumberland 2, Daniel Andreas San Diego.

Earth Liberation Front (ELF) — the collective name for autonomous individuals or covert cells who, according to the ELF Press Office, use "economic sabotage and guerrilla warfare to stop the exploitation and destruction of the environment." ELF "monkeywrenching" is carried out against facilities and companies involved in logging, genetic engineering, GMO crops, deforestation, sport utility vehicle (SUV) sales, urban sprawl, rural cluster and developments with larger homes, energy production and distribution, and a wide variety of other activities, all charged by the ELF with exploiting the Earth, its environment and inhabitants. The Earth Liberation Front has no formal leadership, hierarchy, membership or official spokesperson and is entirely decentralized; instead consisting of individuals or cells who choose the term as a banner to use. Techniques involve destruction of property, by either using tools

Eric...

Eric King: Don't spoil it!

Laura Whitehorn: ...to do one of these with the family members of political prisoners and let them talk about the shit that they went through while we were in prison. The people I work with are, a lot of them, formally incarcerated women from New York state, not from the feds. When we go to things like the National Council of Formerly Incarcerated Women, then we see our comrades from prison. Those are friendships that last forever, because we were up against the state together. We found ways to exist, to resist, to love. Like Nicole said, it was illegal to touch, but we did it. After a certain point, they couldn't keep writing us up. I also want to say, what Nicole described about that cell, that cell was built for one person. The cells at Dublin and other, especially women's, federal prisons were built for one person, because it was before mass incarceration. When I first got to Dublin in '87, '86, either '86 or '87, remember Linda? There were two people in a cell built for one. By the time I left in '99 there were four people in that same cell. It's a tiny cell. People were doing life sentences, some of them, in a cell with no place to sit.

All of the conditions work against solidarity, but solidarity exists anyway. I think if you ignore women in prison, and you only look at the situation of men, you don't see some really, really creative forms of collective struggle, because women, we're not as big as the guards. We have to use our hearts and our brains, which I know the men do, too, but we really have to pool all of that to work. If you really wanted me to talk about all the friends in prison, we'd be here all night, and no one else would get to talk. That's the strength of RAPP, too—I know for Linda, I'm sure that's true. When I came to the Drop Bell WAP conference a few years ago... That love is palpable in all of our resistance and all of our work to try to abolish the system, because that's what we need. Freedom is the only cure for the ailings of prison.

Eric King: Thank you so much. For everyone listening, to touch on what Laura said a second ago about how if you resist you get moved and shipped away, I was in prison for 10 years and was at 12 different institutions. They are very quick to move people if you resist, so finding solidarity and friendship with each other is a blessing.

Linda, could you please share with us moments of friendship, moments of bonds, moments of collectiveness, that you experienced inside prison?

Linda Evans: Sure! Yeah, I'll just say that in the feds they have the opportunity to ship you around. It's much less true for women than it is for men, because they don't have as many institutions. That's one of the things that we have noticed in following up with the women that were shipped when FCI Dublin closed is they've been shipped all over the United States in all kinds of holding facilities, not just prisons. A lot of them are in MDC Miami, which is the Miami detention center. It's a high-rise prison. 22 stories high. They have "roof time."

Nicole, when you talked about the cells, it did something to me, too. I have to say, it brought it back, thinking about the lack of privacy, the lack of dignity. They try to rob you of that. I found so much pride in the women that I lived with, despite what was going on. That really helps.

When I got to Dublin, I walked into the unit, the living unit. The cop unlocked it, and Ida, my cellmate-to-be, was there, and her cellie had just left. She knew who I was, and she said, "This is it! Come on!" I was lucky, because at that time I lived—you know, Nicole, you'll know—in the 'wing,' and there were only two people in those cells. So, I went straight to a two-person cell. That was very unusual. Later, when I got, you know, in trouble for various things, I got demoted to the four-person cell. Ida, of course, became a really dear friend of mine. She had a political consciousness already. She had tried to hijack an airplane to Cuba to free a Black prisoner from the Republic of New Afrika, and so she understood why I was there, and I understood kind of why she was there. We have, still to this day, a very close friendship. Very important to me. Of course, the Puerto Ricans, being there in prison with them was a tremendous boon. My experience would have been so different without those friendships, because we were close. We spent a lot of time together and cracked jokes a lot and, of course, I was extremely lucky to be in prison with Laura and Marilyn, my dear co-defendants. Every time I look at one of the quilts I made, I think of the night that we named it, sitting in, I think it was, your cell, Laura. Those friendships certainly created a different atmosphere than maybe people think about.

We made friends also through some of the political work that we did and the organizing that we did at Dublin. We had started an organization

We can fight this fight. We have people that have been talking to you that are still doing it despite all they've been through and despite how much the world has changed. They're still fighting and finding ways to fight. Please, let that motivate you.

I always end by encouraging people to write prisoners. My wife wrote me in prison, and that's how we met, and we are still together 11 years later. This book came together because Josh Davidson wrote me in prison, and we became friends. That's why I get to talk to you all now. Please. It won't just change their life, it might just change your life. It might change the world. Please write a prisoner. Thank you all so much. Libertie, you can close us out, friend.

Linda Evans: Thank you so much, Eric and Josh.

Libertie Valance: It's been an incredible conversation. Thank you. I had almost nothing to do. Ya'll did it all. It was incredible. It was such a beautiful conversation. I hope everybody has a great evening.

Eric King: I love all three of you so much. Thank you all.

Libertie Valance: Good night, folks.

Linda Evans: Thank you. Thank you. Thank you.

was a very big deal. The initial applications by law can no longer have that question in both public and private employment in some places. I think that was important work.

Now I'm doing a lot of work with the California Coalition for Women Prisoners around life without parole sentences and trying to eliminate LWOP in California. Like Laura was saying, it's extremely rewarding work to be with people that have shared the kinds of experiences and traumas that we have and to work with their families. We've tried a variety of approaches and have not been successful getting our legislation through, but we have been somewhat successful in some of the re-sentencing efforts that we're making. It's a process, but we have a statewide coalition.

I just wanted to say that I think what we have to look out for now is a real increase in construction of prisons and the filling up of prisons because of mass deportation, which is going to start happening. The private prisons are poised to make a profit like they have never made before, because they are the ones that are going to be tasked with building these detention camps. I think it's going to be critical for all of us to pay attention to this construction and to oppose it every single place that we can, because the immigrants that are being locked up are our friends, our family, our neighbors, people that we work with. That is going to be, I think, the point of the spear for the Trump administration. He's going to start it right away. He's got his people in place. They're evil, evil people, and they don't care if families are separated, if children are ripped from mothers' arms. They don't care. They like it.

I feel very, very strongly about the need for everybody to come out and oppose the construction of those prisons and build the community structures that we need to protect people. This is not just people from Mexico or Latin America. This is people from Africa, from Haiti, from Palestine. It's incumbent upon us who know what the prison system is like to act to oppose the construction and really build the solidarity, build the love that we can share with people.

Eric King: Thank you so much. I'd like to thank you all, the three of you. This has been probably my favorite talk I've ever done. It was really inspiring, and I hope everyone listening understands that we can do this.

there. I think that people have to understand, it really depends what the administration is like in a particular prison. Who's the warden? Who's the associate warden? Every time you get a new warden, they want to take something away.

Eric King: It always gets worse.

Linda Evans: You don't have that much to begin with, right? So, they just keep taking and taking and taking. I remember when... At one point, we had our own clothes at Dublin. It was a long time ago, and they not only took the clothes, but, then, people could have colored underwear, and when they took the colored underwear, that was a really big deal to people. I remember that. Every administration does things differently.

Eric King: How did you get your own clothes? Was that where they mailed it in, or did you order them off commissary?

Linda Evans: Mailed in. We had a box once a year. I even got quilting fabric. We only had boxes, I think, a couple years by that time, maybe three, but, yeah, you could get a box with a certain limited number of clothing. A long time ago. That's right, Laura.

What I wanted to say is that there at Dublin, we were inspired by the organizing that was being done in the New York state prisons by the men. David, I think, David Gilbert, is on the webinar, not a speaker but a participant. David, with others in the New York state system, started doing AIDS counseling and education, and then at Bedford Hills Judy Clark and Kathy Boudin and many others, Cheryl, formed an organization called ACE—AIDS, Counseling, and Education—at Bedford Hills. At Dublin we were inspired by the need, number one, but also by the work that was being done in those prisons, to start an organization called PLACE—Pleasanton AIDS, Counseling, and Education, because at that time Dublin was known as FCI Pleasanton. That work was really important in creating bonds amongst women, because we were able to go with women when they got an HIV test or got the results from their tests, so we were able to give support.

We got permission from the administration. We were doing their work. The health clinic should have been doing AIDS education, should have been telling people that they didn't need to be afraid to sit in a chair where

somebody had just sat who they were afraid had HIV. There was no education being done, and it was mandated by law. So, what ended up happening is we filled the gap, because people really, really needed to know that they didn't have to be afraid to talk on the telephone after someone, and they didn't need to shun people who were potentially HIV-positive. There was a big process of education, and, actually, Allison Bechdel, who's a lesbian comic strip artist, gave us permission to use some of her comic strips from *Dykes to Watch Out For*, and we translated it, and copied and pasted, and made a big education flyer in English and Spanish using her comic strip characters, and we got permission to distribute that to everybody on the compound.

I think some of the most moving experiences that we had were when we brought in the AIDS quilt into FCI Dublin. Again, depending on the administration, that would never happen, probably, today, because…

Eric King: No!

Linda Evans: …the whole question of outside people coming into prisons has been extremely limited both in the state and the federal systems. But, then, we did have the AIDS quilt at FCI Dublin. We, as PLACE, organized a showing of it, and what it made me recognize was that every single person on the compound had been effected by HIV and AIDS, including the cops, including the guards. That was a very unifying experience for all the people that were inside and all the prisoners. That work was very important.

Eric King: This is kind of off topic, but how many phone minutes were you all allowed back then when you were in, like per month? Because you had talked about the commissary changes, so I wanted to see if there were other changes, too.

Linda Evans: I honestly don't remember. We could have 20 people on an improved list. I wanted to talk a little about bit more about Dublin, and, Nicole, to hear more from you, too, about Dublin, what it was like when you were there, because I think it's important that people know what's going on in the federal system, because it's going to get a lot worse. I mean, it's terrible now, but it's going to get a lot worse.

Eric King: It only gets worse. It's horrible.

of the bookstore also knew the lesbian chief of staff for president Clinton and brokered a phone call between Debbie and the chief of staff. They talked for, Debbie said, over an hour, and at the end of the conversation, Debbie said that the conversation went so well, the woman said, "I'm going to put the petition on the top of the pile," whatever that means, and Debbie had to say, "You know she was convicted of bombing the capitol." [*Laughter.*] The woman said, "That won't be a problem."

We received word—my partner, Eve, whom I also had fallen in love with who visited me because of a series of odd circumstances—she received a phone call from somebody that saw it in the newspaper, and so Eve heard it. I called Eve in the morning, and she said, "Well?" I said, "Well, what?" I didn't know about it. She said, "You're getting released today!" I said, "Don't… I'm good." I had just talked to my friend, Brenda, who had a life sentence and was a Native American in the Four Winds Club. She said, "Every year I learn something new." That's how she did her time. I have this good attitude here, because we had expected to hear something maybe. Here I was! There, it happened. People were in the visiting room, visiting Marilyn, and took me to Oakland. It was very, very shocking. It was shocking.

Eve drove up from Los Angeles where she was living. I had about a month in Oakland and then got my parole transfer to Los Angeles and moved in with her. Our relationship has managed to survive all this time. We're married. I'm really, really lucky. I will say that after, when we lived in Los Angeles, we moved because I saw a listing on the Black Radical Congress website about a job at the Center for Third World Organizing. It was mostly people of color. I thought, "That'd be a good place to work." It turned out that it was to defend a grant that had been written to the Soros foundation for a fellowship. I received the fellowship, and that money enabled me to live, to be part of organizing, and starting All of Us Or None. That effort was very, very important.

I think that it's critical that we have been organizing formally incarcerated people to believe that we have power and the power to change things. We started a campaign that has affected formerly incarcerated people, people with convictions, in many of the states—I think a majority of the states now—called Ban the Box that eliminated the question, "Have you been convicted of," whatever, "a crime by a court?" from the employment and housing and student loan applications. That

react to when people talk about political prisoners as heroes or whatever. In Palestine, support for political prisoners is an occasion to expose the nature of the genocidal zionist regime, and the resistance to it, and the fact that people under those incredibly horrible conditions—where settlers just go hog wild on the Palestinian people whose homes they are stealing, all of that level of brutality—still people are capable of resisting, and they do, and they are, and that's what the promotion of the issue of "Free Our Political Prisoners" is in Palestine. I feel like for us, that has to be it, too.

I'd like to hear, I'd like us to talk more about how we resist than how we suffered, even though I think that has to be talked about, too, because it exposes the system.

Oh, another thing about how we use trauma, because this was taught to me by someone on one of our trips, our advocacy trips where we talked to the legislators. People talk about their experiences in prison and talk about being strip-searched all the time, talk about their children being taken away. Afterwards, we come together, and we hold each other, and sometimes people cry. There was a rabbi in one of the groups I was in one time, and she said, "I really respect you all for re-traumatizing yourself for the sake of justice." I thought, "Oh, that really says it perfectly." So, that's what we do.

Eric King: That's really beautiful. Thank you so much.

Linda, if you could talk about your release, any traumas you suffer still or then, what you've been up to since then, and just how your life is doing, I would really love to hear it, please.

Linda Evans: Like Laura, I feel like I'm the luckiest person in the world sometimes. So privileged, so privileged. I feel privileged because it's been raining for three days here, pouring rain. I'm warm and dry. There's a lot of people in our town and our county and our country that are freezing.

My release was sudden, because I had put in a clemency petition to the president like many, many, many people do in the federal system, and I got released. I got a presidential clemency, so I was released suddenly. I will tell the story of how that happened. My lawyer, Debbie Katz, a lesbian, knew the owner of the women's bookstore in Washington DC. That owner

I have three more questions. I want to have—I don't want to say a comparison—but I would like just to hear how Dublin has changed, what it was like for you all in certain ways, comparatively to Nicole.

I was reading an interview today, and it was an interview that Marilyn and Laura did with Susie. This was a decade ago or 20 years ago. In the interview, Marilyn was, I forget the question, but her response was basically like, "At some points, I'm just too pissed to want to interact with people. I don't want to go to the chow hall. I don't want to see these people. I sit in my cell. I have my select friends, and I'm tired of this bullshit." I thought that was really real. I think people get this idea that if you're political, or if you have powerful ethics, that you have to be this grand-standing warrior at all times that can't have feelings. That just moved me so much. So, I was wondering if you all could talk about times where it just seemed like too much, like it seemed like, "Fuck this," or it just hurt bad, like you just felt it, and how then you pulled yourself out or got pulled out by others. Nicole, if you have experiences, would you like to share?

Nicole Kissane: I created a routine for myself immediately. I went to MCC San Diego, and I was there for a week. It's a high-rise, I don't know how many floors there are. There's one floor for women. You get to go out once a week. On a roof, the roof opens up, you see blue sky, and that's it. I think there were basketball hoops, but you don't get basketballs, so I don't understand the point of that. You just walk around in basically a rectangle. I was there for a week, and then I went to Prompt, which is like a holding place until you get transferred to another place. I then got transferred to FCI Dublin. Gosh, I lost my train of thought. What was your question again? [*Laughter.*]

Eric King: Were there times where it just seemed like too much?

Nicole Kissane: Yeah!

Eric King: What was that like? How did you come out of that?

Nicole Kissane: Okay, that's where I got the routine. Thank you. So, I created a routine as soon as I went to Dublin. As soon as I hit the ground. Chow or breakfast was 6:30. Your count call would basically be at 5:30, so you could get up and run to the shower if you wanted to. I heard it

immediately at 5:30, got dressed, 6:30 got to chow, went to breakfast, came back. You had to be back before 6:30, because every move is on the hour. So, came back, changed, 6:30 would go right to the rec yard, and I ran. I would run every single morning. Every day. Every morning, except Saturdays and Sundays, because that's when I got visits, but I ran. That was the one thing that I would honestly say saved me, gave me a lot of tolerance for a lot of things, because I found my way, because nobody was getting up—no, I don't want to say nobody—very few people were getting up at 6:30 to go running. So, that was my place. I actually had the field to myself a majority of the mornings. That was beautiful. When you're in a facility with so many people, you don't get time to yourself. The only time you get to yourself—and I'll be very clear—is the shower, and that's why people a lot of times will take two, three, four showers, because that's the only time you get to yourself. That's it. Sometimes you have bunkies that are in their bed all day. That's fine. That's how they do their time, but that means you don't get time in your room. So, you would do showers or do whatever.

I would find that peace running. That gave me more time or more patience, I guess. But there were definitely times where I just couldn't stand being around people. Claws was a big TV show at the time when I was in, and everybody wanted to watch Claws. I don't really know what it was about because I never watched it, but it was like, "I can't. I don't want to know about it. I don't care. I just want to go in my room and read." I would find times—and, right, this is why you respect your bunkie—because at that time there was three of us in the room, sometimes there were four. You needed to also respect your bunkie. The way it worked—and everyone can tell their story—but the way it worked is whoever got in the room or had the room first, it's their room. My bunkie was in there for eight years. That was her room. She got the room.

Eric King: Same cell?

Nicole Kissane: Well, I don't want to say the same cell, but she was at Dublin for eight years, so it could have been the same cell, but I'm not sure. But that was her room, and we respected her rules. When she would get out, then it was someone else's. It was the next person in line. That was their room. You had to respect the room, right? Most prisons, it's all about respect. You give whoever wants the room their room. You give them respect. You go in there, and you read, and you're quiet, because you

members of incarcerated people, have enormous trauma in their lives. Enormous problems. It's exhausting, and it's tiring, and it's it's sad, and I was old. I said to Susie, "You know, if we could just get Herman out," because we had become such good friends. "If we could just get Herman out. If we could just get David Gilbert out. If we could just get Seth Hayes, if we could get Jalil out, I can retire." They're all out, and I'm still in it, because I actually love it so much, even though it's such a struggle. We've been going now for, this is our 11th year working. Unfortunately for all of us, Kathy and Farid have both died. But we have an organization of a lot of women and femmes who were isolated before they found RAPP.

We deal with people with life sentences. We deal with people who are the "hard cases" that most of the movement when we started wouldn't touch, the people with life sentences. People with homicide. People who you can't say, "Oh all they did was..." You know, "They really needed money, so they sold a bag of dope." No, this is murders. It has been some of the most fulfilling work of my life, and the fact that we are, I believe, raising the ability to abolish the prison system, all of us together, is magnificent. And it's discouraging. And it's obviously not happening next year. But I love it. And I still get to work with Linda, because we have something called Death by Incarceration is Torture. So, that's where I'm at. I am the luckiest person in the world, because I did what I wanted to do. I did time for it. To be in prison sucks, but if you have to be in prison, and you're in prison with the people that Linda and I named before, including Apple, Nadine Ferris, and Ida and everyone, Hamdia, then you're a very fortunate person.

I can't say I've kicked the trauma. I think part of my freaking out every fucking day—I go to every demonstration I can about what Israel is doing and the United States supporting it, so frontally—part of my visceral reaction to that comes from what I talked about before, about that sense of, when all of a sudden you realize you have no power to defend yourself in that moment. Every time we hear about, you know, another bombing or the rape of prisoners...

I just want to say one thing about Palestine since I'm talking about it. This was true when Susie and I were on that that delegation we talked about. Palestinians, the Palestinian movement supports their political prisoners full force, but they don't do it as a series of individuals. You don't hear people talk about, "Oh, the sacrifice that this person made." That's why I

I always say I am the luckiest person in the world. I went to prison. I faced 78 years for a variety of reasons involved with some legal stuff. The cops, the FBI did a totally illegal search of the apartment where Linda and Marilyn and I lived. A lot of stuff. I ended up with only 23 years, and, then, because of the sentencing structures, the prison computation structures, I only did a little more than 14. I met—because she came in to interview me, Linda, Marilyn, and Susan—I met Susie Day. We fell in love. She stuck with me, even though I was a butthead in many ways, and we won't talk about that now. She can talk about that if she wants when she's on.

Eric King: Oh, she will!

Laura Whitehorn: I got out, and she was waiting for me. I have a totally supportive sister. I had—we had—built a lot of support, which then we had to struggle to make sure that the support and the awareness of political prisoners that came because we were white anti-imperialists would still function in building the support for all of the Black and Puerto Rican political prisoners who were still in. I got to do that with some amazing people, who, if I started naming them, we'd be here all night. Then, because of the AIDS work we had done, and this was Linda's idea, she suggested that I try to get a job at POZ magazine, and I did, as an intern at $8 an hour in the beginning. I stayed there for I can't remember how many years, but brought a consciousness of people in prison with HIV, AIDS, and hepatitis C to that magazine. They're wonderful people.

I helped them be aware of and start work against HIV criminalization laws, which was very fulfilling to me that they were able to do that. A lot of stuff like that. Then, my old comrade and Linda's, Kathy Boudin and our dear lawyer, Maryn's lawyer, Sophia Elijah, and I met Mujahid Farid, when he got out of prison after he'd done 33 years on a 15 to life because of parole denials. We started Release Aging People in Prison (RAPP), and because I said that thing about jailhouse lawyers before, but because Farid was a brilliant jailhouse lawyer, we didn't do legislation. We did regulation. We got in there and changed regulations. We pressured the governor to appoint different commissioners and stuff. We were able to contribute to the success of all of the New York state political prisoners who were in then getting out on parole and clemency.

I remember that I used to say to Susie, because RAPP, a community-based organization is not an easy thing. People who come into it, all the family don't have that quiet time. I guess what I'm getting at is you find ways to find little bits of peace everywhere. But, yeah. People definitely get the best of you. It's inevitable in a place where there's way too many people in there.

Eric King: Did you have lots of visits?

Nicole Kissane: I am very, very, very thankful. I will speak to the Earth on that. I was in Dublin, 25, 30 minutes from Oakland, probably 45 minutes from San Francisco. I had visits, and I had a partner that visited me every single weekend, if they could. I was very, very, very, very thankful. Yeah, grateful.

Eric King: Did you guys play games? Did you play Scrabble or Uno or anything?

Nicole Kissane: We didn't have games. They did not give us games.

Eric King: Oh, no!

Nicole Kissane: When your visitors would come, they could bring some money to get the vending machine. Visits would start—I was just talking to my partner about this—7:30 I think, and you would have to be back into your room before, I think it was, the 4:00 count. You had to be back, so they did not provide lunch for you. They didn't provide anything for you. If you got a visit, your visitor needed to bring money, and they needed to bring dollar bills, and, fingers crossed, that vending machine works, because if it didn't, you're not eating at all. That was it. You could either sit inside and be heavily watched by guards—they watched you talk, move your arms, they wanted to see if you were doing signs to each other—or you could go outside and sit down and just talk. So, I always went outside. Always went outside. There was this amazing hemlock tree, until one of the wardens came, and she said, "This place needs to be a prison, not a tree." She said, "Take it out," and they took out more trees. When I was reading Rebecca's account in the book about how there was a tree in the rec yard... No. No trees. There are no trees. I was like, "What tree?" I was like, "I missed a tree!" No. There are no trees. But, yeah, you did not get games, at least not that I remember.

Linda Evans: No trees in front of the units?

Nicole Kissane: No.

Linda Evans: Those willow trees? Gone.

Nicole Kissane: Oh, no willow trees. Definitely no willow trees. Gone. But I do remember there was that sign that says, "No walking on the grass," and they still have that sign. Yep, they still have that sign.

Laura Whitehorn: There's no grass, but no walking on it in any case, should it come up.

Eric King: Did you two, were you able, Laura and Linda, were you both able to get visits and have people come and see you?

Laura Whitehorn: Oh, yeah. I was just telling someone recently about this man named Ahmed Obefami, who sadly died a few years ago. He was a great revolutionary member of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) and the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO). He was a good friend of ours. He visited me when I was in Montgomery county detention center for like 3 or 4 months, which was hell on earth. That place, the toilets were out in the middle of the dorm. It was just a big room, there was no wall, no nothing, and the guards would come right in. Everyone who was in that prison—that jail—locked up for more than a month ended up with all kinds of digestive problems. He came and visited me there. Because it was a detention center, they had visiting 24 hours a day, and he visited me at midnight when he was traveling. Anyway, we got a lot of visits from the political prisoners tradition, mostly in Dublin we got more visits. Something about visits, okay. For all those years, I was in all those women's prisons. We would go and walk into the visiting room, and it was full of women visiting the women. There would be a couple of men. The women were the mothers, the sisters, the friends bringing the kids. All women.

When I got out, when I got off parole, the first thing I did—which it was thanks to Linda that I knew that I could apply to get off parole after five years, supervised release—I went to visit Herman Bell, who was at that point, I think, in eastern Napanoch in New York. Walk into the visiting room. Guess who's in the visiting room? All women. It was just amazing. Who supports incarcerated people? If you looked at the movement, a lot of times you would think it was men. Nothing personal. Present company

Eric King: Where you're at right now, are you comfortable? You have a home? A job? Your life feels all right? Feels good?

Nicole Kissane: Yeah, I'm in a spot where I'm very comfortable and very supported, and the people around me very much support me, and I love them. But it took me a while to work around it. Because after prison, and especially with that, I didn't trust anybody, and especially with what happened after that, and when I was working through... There's a lot of trauma that happened with my co-defendant and me, and nobody knew. I kept that so secretive, because I was like, "I don't want to hamper their support." So, when that person came out, and they're like, "Do you support this person?" I was like, "abso-fucking-lutely not. No, I do not. I do not." All my amazing support team, they're like, "We're on it. Don't worry. We've got this for you." I want to give hugs to everyone, because they were amazing, and they supported me, and I felt the love every minute. I'm good now, and I'm okay to talk about it now, but for a while I was very angry.

Eric King: Nicole, I love you, dude. I'm so happy. I'm so happy you're free.

For anyone listening, when Nicole got released, she took what was left of her commissary money and distributed it among some of us. I could not afford phone calls at that time, and Nicole's money came, and I was able to talk to my wife because of Nicole. That's why I started crying while you were talking. I was like, "You didn't deserve this bullshit, dude." You didn't deserve these people to treat you that way. You are amazing. I'm so thankful for you. Sorry for getting all emotional. I'm sorry.

Laura, please, tell me your stories about being released, and what you've been involved in. If there was trauma, please. If there was joy, please. Just what you went through when you were released, and what you're doing now.

Laura Whitehorn: Nicole, I am so sorry you went through that. I don't know anything about it. I want to say about our movements, and especially the political prisoner movement, ignoring trauma, especially when it's inflicted by people that we think are heroes, will kill us faster than anything else. That goes for sexual predation within the movement, and it goes for any of us being cruel to each other and not supportive. A lot of shit like that.

Eric King: Ohhh.

Nicole Kissane: Yeah, which was really nice. But I got out, and I isolated myself, to be honest. I didn't talk. I mean, obviously, my welcome, like my "Welcome home everyone!" was there, but I isolated myself. I was angry at... I was angry. I was definitely angry, but I was also angry at a lot of stuff that went down with my case and my co-defendant. I stopped talking to my co-defendant before I was sentenced. So, there's a lot of anger and a lot of hurt and a lot of misunderstanding with the Animal Rights Movement in that there was still support for him after my release statement was out for him and after another person came out with a release statement. I was just angry at the Animal Rights Movement in general because...

And this is where I isolated a lot more when it came to that movement, because how can you support people who are doing this for sentient beings, and when they're talking and coming out and saying, "This is all the trauma I endured from this person." And you're like, "Yeah, but it's okay, because they helped animals." I was out. I was done. I was like, "See you later. I'm good." So, I isolated myself a lot, and I kind of did my own... I didn't have therapy. I didn't have someone connected. I had a job, got into that. I had a CO. My first CO was okay, honestly, and kind of let me do my thing, checked in with me when he could. He was just like, "Okay, do your thing."

I isolated. I didn't want to talk to people—or not that I didn't want to talk to people—I talked to the people that were close to me, but the friendships I created when I had letter writings and everything when I was in, I kind of dropped the ball on it. I was like, "I just want to understand what I went through in a movement that I thought supported me, but only supported me in a way that I didn't..." They didn't want to know what happened. They're like, "Okay, we're good. Keep that for something else." I kind of felt that way. So, yeah. That's how it was post-release for me. I isolated myself a little bit.

Eric King: What are you doing now? How do you feel now?

Nicole Kissane: I'm feeling more connected than I have been in a long time, so thank you. I appreciate being here. Now, I'm more focused on abolition and doing work on borders. That's my goal in life, and that's where I'm seeing my focus, honestly, in border work. It needs to crumble.

excluded.

Eric King: You're right!

Laura Whitehorn: Men are people, too. But it was fucking women who support the people who are in prison. For me—and Herman and I have talked about this in particular—every place I was I would find some beautiful thing. There would be—in that same Montgomery county lock up, which was awful, the fluorescent lights on over your bunk all night and all that—there was one little sliver of a window. You could look out, and there was a tree that you could see. I would look at that tree. When I was in Dublin, I remember, because there did used to be an outside visiting area, and in the yard, too, there were burrowing owls... It's an army base, basically, that has prisons on it, and it's in the foothills, sort of between Sacramento and San Francisco, and, yeah, very close to Oakland, but it's in the country, and you could see hills in the distance.

Like Nicole said, you never could be alone. One time I was kind of glad when I got sent to the hole, because I was in a unit in Lexington—Lexington was the worst; Lexington, Kentucky—because you were in a unit with hundreds and hundreds of women and four telephones. I should have said that before when you asked how many calls we could get. It didn't matter, because—and the phones were always broken—there were, what, six phones or four phones for 200 women. Something like that, I can't remember the numbers. For women, what was available was terrible.

I do want to say, I think in the movement—I'm so glad you're doing this one with the three of us—because of the overwhelming number of men in prison, a lot of people think about the movement and about people in prison, they picture men. The incarceration of women is also an act of genocide, because the women we were in prison with—Black, brown, Mexican, Indigenous—they're in prison during their childbearing years, from their 20's up to, in some cases, given long sentences now, until 80 and 90, but certainly even with shorter sentences. They either can't have kids or they can't take care of their kids, and the destruction of generations is part of the UN definition of genocide, as if the UN had any meaning anymore after not being able to stop the genocide of Palestine.

But that was definitely true. There were days when I would hear a mother on the phone crying, wailing, because she's talking to her sister who's

trying to raise the incarcerated woman's daughter, and the daughter has gone missing, and they can't find her, and they think maybe her father, who sexually abused the mother who's in prison, has… You know, that kind of shit. Sometimes you feel like it's in the walls, that kind of suffering and pain. There are times like that, but, I do have to say, Linda and I were lucky because we were together. We were with Carmen and Dylcia and Marilyn and Lucy and Alicia and then Apple and Ida and Hamdia.

Linda Evans: Yeah!

Laura Whitehorn: All the women I just named, when they get out, they're doing something to try to abolish prisons, either directly through the kind of work that Linda and I do, or indirectly, like Carmen, teaching about it. That doesn't end.

The last thing I want to say. The resistance is what kept me going. I think all the time about this moment at Lexington, when we wouldn't go in for count. We all gathered in the main yard. We were resisting. The next day, we all got shipped out and, shit, we got a lot. But it was worth it, because at that moment—the sacrosanct moment in the federal system is count—and the fact that we wouldn't go in, and they kept saying to us, "What's wrong with you? You have to go in for count! You have to go in for count!" We went "Ha ha!" We looked up at the sky, and it reminded me of that moment that the Attica rebels talked about when they looked at the night sky for the first time in their sentences and saw stars and felt free. You carry freedom in your heart at some point, and the kind of resistance we talked about before, when Linda talked about the AIDS work, that's what keeps you going when you feel like you can't do it anymore.

Eric King: We carry freedom in our heart.

Linda, so this was originally going to be about—this question—about Marilyn and feelings of hopelessness inside and coming out of it, and, if you have examples of that, I'd still like to hear, but I'd also like to hear some of your visiting stories, or other stuff inside prison that maybe we didn't touch on enough that you'd like to share.

Linda Evans: Well, I think what I would like to share, since we don't have that much time left…

lied through her face about, oh, yes, "The closing of FCI Dublin was planned for many weeks." I mean, really? Five days after the special master was appointed, you're going to try to say that? And, of course, the women from Dublin were scattered everywhere, so any family ties that they had built amongst each other were separated, were blown to shit, and their family ties with people that were visiting them were blown, because they were mostly east of the Mississippi. They are treated like shit. Everywhere they go they are demonized by the guards. They'll get to the chow line, and suddenly there's no main dish left, because the cops have taken it, because the Dublin women got released for chow.

They're being discriminated against really seriously, and their cases never got reviewed, so probably a lot of them should be released anyway, but the saga of FCI Dublin will continue, and that class action lawsuit is going to trial in the spring.

Eric King: Thank you all so much. Thank you for letting me be here and hear your stories and experiences. We are running out of time. I could talk to you three honestly for goddamn 17 hours.

I would like to know—this is basically our last question—but I'd like to know what release was like? Sometimes we walk out of prison with a lot of trauma, and we carry that hurt, and it doesn't always just go away. It doesn't go away because we're free. Sometimes we stay active, and we take that anger out on these motherfuckers, and we keep fighting them until all these doors are open.

So, I would like to hear about what your release was like and what your freedom has been like since being released? What you're doing? What you're experiencing? All of that. It's an open question, but take all the time you need, please, to tell me about what your releases were like? If you've had trauma, and how you work through it? And, then, what you've been doing since being free? Nicole, if you want to jump us out.

Nicole Kissane: Release was… So, I didn't get halfway house time. I'm going to throw that out there. I didn't get any. I never was told why. Basically, it was, "You get out July 18th. That's it." I was like, "Well, what about halfway house time?" "Oh, their beds are full." I got out straight to my house right away. It was on a Friday. I was thankful, because I didn't have to check in with my CO until Monday, so I had the weekend.

facility low for women on the west coast.

Linda Evans: Now it's closed.

Nicole Kissane: Now it's closed. Exactly. People that have family from anywhere in California, it was a little bit closer…

Linda Evans: I want to tell people what happened there. Actually, some lawyers who had clients that were facing deportation during Covid were trying to get access to their clients, and they couldn't get into Dublin. They kept trying, kept trying. When they finally got in, they found out that the guards weren't wearing masks, which was required on all federal property at that time, and there was a massive outbreak of Covid. Over 200 people got sick because of the violations of that. But these lawyers were so determined, and they were so amazing in that they did not just speak up for their clients. They took on a class action lawsuit, and it's the process of that class action lawsuit, which is going to go to trial in the spring of 2025, and these individual convictions of the guards that led to something unprecedented.

Never happened in the history of the federal bureau of prisons. Number one. A judge came to the prison and spent the entire day. Anybody could walk up to her and talk to her for however long they wanted, and that was the judge in the class action lawsuit. So, she saw firsthand the conditions in the prison. Women told her all kinds of information, not just about sexual abuse, but about medical conditions, about dental, mental health care, their cases, they could tell her anything. She came back to the courtroom and appointed a special master to oversee FCI Dublin. Never has that happened before. That special master was tasked with reviewing everybody's case to find out—because they had been stealing people's good time. I know you guys know about that. People should have been released. There were issues with the way that the Covid quarantines fucked up people's release dates. All kinds of stuff. So, the special master was tasked with reviewing everybody's case, hearing all their complaints. Five days later, Dublin was closed.

Because the bureau of prisons will not tolerate oversight. They still have not responded to a judiciary committee letter from the senate judiciary that was signed on by 18 representatives and senators requesting specific information. Colette Peters, the head of the bureau of prisons lied, just

Eric King: We got all the time you need. We'll find the time.

Linda Evans: Laura talked about the rebellion that happened at Dublin. It was relatively small compared to what the men were doing, which was burning down administration buildings at their prisons, but people did get shipped out. I think the most important thing that happened from that time is that a couple of the women who were labeled as the organizers of what happened—I mean, some fires were set, and we were out at midnight, which was fun—but they got rounded up the next day, and some of them were put in FDC Dublin, which was the men's holding facility. The guards opened up the cell that the women were in for money, and they were raped.

Eric King: No!

Linda Evans: Oh, yeah. As a consequence of that, those women ultimately got out and got some settlement, but it was the beginning—I don't think it really was the beginning—but it was one of the milestones, let's say, in Dublin's history of sexual abuse. Nicole, you were there even more recently, so I think you probably can talk about some of those specific guards, but I believe eight of them now have been convicted of sexual abuse…

Eric King: One of the wardens!

Linda Evans: …including—I mean, Nicole if you want to say something—the one that got me the most, I have to say, is one of them was a chaplain! A chaplain! If you understand prison, where you're in a long time, a lot of people that's how they survive is religion, is their faith. Particularly at Dublin, I will say that young Latin American women were extremely religious and freaked out, because they were away from their country, away from their family. They were not speaking English, and the only place they had refuge was the chapel. I can only imagine the preying—the preying, *p r e y i n g*—the predator that was the chaplain, and he's been convicted. But Nicole, I'm sorry. You have more information.

Nicole Kissane: I was not surprised when I saw it being exposed. While I was inside, there was three wardens. I believe the first warden left before I even got there, so we didn't have a warden for a couple weeks, until the second warden came in. She came in, and she was there the majority of

the time I was there. Then, right when I was leaving, she was leaving as well. So, then there was going to be a third one, which I believe was the guy that came in, thankfully. Not thankfully, but he came in.

Linda Evans: One of the people convicted was also a warden.

Nicole Kissane: Yeah, I guess that's why "thankfully." He got convicted. When I first read—I was reading names—and I was like what about… The biggest person, for me, was a counselor, which was Daryl Smith. He was the worst in mine. He was—and I was in Unit E, he was my counselor in Unit E. If I remember correctly, you had a unit manager, and then you had a counselor. When I first got there, he was never there—and just so everyone knows, you have to either see your unit manager or your counselor to get your visits, to get the visit papers, and to also get your unit number—most of the times, you get them at MCCs or holding facilities that then ship you there, but if you're a self-surrenderer, you have to go to those people to get the number, so you can then get money on your books or get a phone call or any of that. They were never there, but he was definitely never there. Finally, when he did come in, because everyone was like, "Oh you're in Smith's…" I was like, "What do you mean?" They're like, "Just watch out. He has a type, and he likes them young, and he likes them Latina." I was just like, "I don't understand what that means." They're like, "Just watch out."

I mean, he would come in—and I'm sure you all see his picture—he would make smirks, he would definitely look in your room. Most of the time, for privacy—you don't get privacy, but people found ways to make privacy—you put pads in your window if you're going to the bathroom, or you put pads in your window if you're changing. Dublin had blinds—or not blinds, curtains. Eventually, when I was leaving, they took them out, so people could actually see into your units, which—PRIA, if nobody knows is the Prison Rape Elimination Act—and that's what gets touted about, like, "Oh, if you're having an issue, call PRIA." It doesn't do anything. He would always peek in your things. At one point we had longer shower curtains, I don't know who implemented it, someone implemented it to shorter shower curtains, and he would make his rounds more often, he'd walk around more often. There was one time… Everyone knew something was wrong, I mean, like something is wrong with this guy. I remember there was an incident where a person—and I don't know if she ever came forward—but a person was like, "I'm done. I'm not dealing with this anymore," and she was shipped immediately. The next day she was shipped. He was walking around the unit smiling the whole day when she was shipped and put into the shoe.

The chaplain… The chaplain, he was… He would walk around… The chaplain… I didn't go to church all that often or go into that area that often, but when I would, because they would have very limited classes, but I would go in and meditate, and he'd check in and then walk away… There was a CMS, which was another guy that was in there, because, as far as I knew, there weren't cameras in a lot of places, and the CMS was one of the guys that got caught, too, and that's where that was happening. In commissary, that's where the other guy got caught, doing it in the commissary truck. There were a lot of places that they… Everybody knew. That's what I'm getting at. Everybody knew what was happening. There were guards… I remember one of the people who was there when I first got there, she got a job in the kitchen, and I still know about this guy, his name is Connor. He cornered her in the kitchen and said, "I can do whatever I want with you right now, and no one will ever believe you." He didn't get called out yet, so do I believe he probably did that? Probably. He knew he could get away with it.

I was never going to… I was like, "I'll stay away from the kitchen as much as I have to." But every single guard knew what was happening there. Every single guard. The warden knew. Everybody. To be like, "Oh my god, this doesn't happen." Yes, it happens at every single prison. Absolutely. And the fact that people are like, "Oh, this is just a rare incident." No. *It is not*. It is not a rare incident. Every single guard knew what they were doing. Every single guard knew what was happening. There was another guard that put money on girls' books and they were… He was getting caught. He got caught. He said, "I'm done with Dublin," went to another federal government facility and got caught, because he was… I forget what the video streaming system was. You could video stream with people. He got caught, because he was doing it with multiple people.

Linda Evans: Oh my God.

Nicole Kissane: He had multiple people on the books. He didn't even get charged. Nothing happened to him. They were pulling in the girls like, "Did anything happen to you?" And they're like, "No, nothing." Because they didn't want to get chipped, right? FCI Dublin is the only federal